Imitation Is the Most Sincere Form of Mockery: Mock Jewish English in Online Extremist Communities

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Abstract

This article examines the use of Mock Jewish English (MJE) among members of the modern far right as a means of perpetuating ideologies centered around antisemitic canards originating from the 19th and 20th centuries. In order to investigate MJE as an act of language crossing, I examine the 900+ million token Unicorn Riot subcorpus of the Corpus of Digital Extremism and Conspiracies (CoDEC). Following this analysis, I describe the linguistic features of MJE when it is used as ventriloquation, specifically the lexical and phonological features employed by the white supremacist parody advice show, *Dear Rabbi*. In my analysis, I find that these two strategies of MJE are used by members of the far right to spread antisemitic ideologies, further the semantic pejoration of Jewish lexical borrowings, and covertly affiliate themselves with one another in public spaces (via language crossing) or distance themselves from Jewishness (via ventriloquation).

Keywords

Jewish English – mock language – language crossing – white supremacist language

1   Introduction

After 2017's Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia brought contemporary white supremacy to the attention of the public, media distributed by government agencies (Congress 2019; Office of the Director of National Intelligence 2021), media outlets (Fernando & Nasir 2021; Levin 2019), and academics (Daniels 2018; Azani et al. 2020) have all noted a global rise in white supremacist extremism. While the events of Charlottesville were by no means the inciting incident behind this recent increase in white supremacist violence, they have been credited for bringing to the attention of much of the American public an ideological zeitgeist that has been growing since 2015 (U.S. Department Homeland Security 2020; Azani et al. 2020; Daniels 2018).

The rhetoric of the various modern white nationalist and white supremacist groups that have gained the public's attention over the last several years is markedly antisemitic (Azani et al. 2020; Congress 2019), and its origins and proliferation can be credited to an increased presence of right-wing extremist communities on the web (Zannettou et al. 2020; Daniels 2018). The use of mock language among these online communities to other and degrade marginalized communities has been documented throughout the 2000s and 2010s, with the emergence of memes targeting the Black community, like "we wuz kangz"[1] in 2015 and "bix nood," which was first documented by the user Hip Hop Anonymous on Know Your Meme in 2009 (further documented by Z. 2015; Uncle Ted 2016). A slightly less documented mock language has also been on the rise, however: Mock Jewish English (MJE).

The misappropriation of words like "goy," "Shoah," and "shekel," as well as expressions like "oy vey" among the far right has been salient and controversial enough to have been discussed by Jewish public figures. For example, journalist Rebecca Einstein Schorr notes that "white supremacists have co-opted ["goy"] to refer to themselves in a shocking example of linguistic appropriation" (2017). This phenomenon, however, goes beyond the use of "goy" as a term of address between ideological allies. Online, *Shoah*, the Hebrew word for "calamity" used by some Jews to refer to the Holocaust, has been used to refer to account deletion, website outages, and deplatforming (Mulhall 2021). The further one dives into the language used between members of these far-right communities, the more borrowings one will find: taboo Yiddish borrowings like "shvartze"[2] and "shiksa"[3] are found in conversations documented by media

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1 Spelling varies.

2 Variants searched include: "shvartz*" (3). "Shvarts*" and "shvarz*" yielded no results.

3 Variants searched include "shiksa" (72) and "shiksas" (22).

collective Unicorn Riot (searches return 3 and 94 instances, respectively; Drylie & McCullough 2022).

Borrowings from Yiddish have long been used by non-Jewish English speakers (see Benor 2011) who have no interest in furthering antisemitic ideologies. However, when these types of borrowings are used in the context of contemporary white supremacy, their primary function is to perpetuate antisemitic ideology, including conspiracy theories. For example, the use of "Shoah" to refer to deplatforming or the "it's anuddah Shoah" meme have both contributed to the conspiracy theory that the Holocaust either did not happen or was heavily exaggerated (Benor 2022:56). Jaworska & Leuschner (2018) approach borrowings from a discourse analysis perspective, referring to them as "performative de- or re-contextualization" of lexical items that can index stereotypes (118) and, as seen here, reinforce ideologies regarding the speakers of the donor language. It is through this lens that I shall analyze the use of Jewish English borrowings and MJE by members of far-right speech communities.

Throughout the remainder of this article, I will discuss two strategies of MJE as defined by their communicative function: MJE as language crossing and MJE as ventriloquation. The first strategy, MJE as language crossing, is similar to what has already been discussed. This consists of the memes and expressions used by members of far-right communities that consist primarily of borrowings from Yiddish or other Jewish languages. In this context, words like "yenta" and "kvetch" communicate additional information when compared to their Anglo equivalents, "gossiping woman" and "complain." First, they assign a quality of Jewishness to the subject being discussed: if a journalist is kvetching, they are not only complaining but either complaining on behalf of a Jewish person or about issues that concern the supposed Jewish agenda. Second, by indexing said Jewish agenda, the speaker implicitly communicates their acceptance of the antisemitic conspiracy theory of Jewish control of the media, allowing themselves to align with other community members present in an online space.

The second strategy, MJE as ventriloquation, also uses lexical borrowings to index Jewishness and to appeal to a set of antisemitic ideologies, but it additionally has the speaker putting on a "Jewish" voice through affecting phonological features associated with a specific variety of Jewish English, typically New York Jewish English. Through ventriloquizing a "Jewish" voice distinct from one's normal speaking voice and affecting other aspects of a fictitious Jewish identity, content creators in far-right spaces are able to use language to distance themselves from Jewishness. These speakers likely do not drop postvocalic /ɹ/ or exclaim "oy vey" in their natural dialects, they do not have cousins with names like Shmuli or Moishe, and they may speak a mainstream English dialect. Unlike MJE as language crossing, MJE as ventriloquation is often seen

in performances or alternative media like podcasts and webtoons, and therefore is disconnected from its audience in time and space. As such, it is not used primarily for group affiliation in conversation. The speaker's emphasis on the presence of features of Jewish English which are not typical in Standard American English, like nonrhoticity or a distinction between the /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ vowels, instead primarily functions as a distancing tool. When the MJE ventriloquist throws their voice and appropriates a language variety that they do not normally speak, they are communicating that they are so unlike the target of ridicule that they have to perform a role to portray them.

After reviewing some antisemitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories, as well as historical and contemporary perceptions of Jewish speech, I will discuss the concepts of mock language and language crossing as they relate to MJE. Then, I will examine a number of chat logs from the Unicorn Riot (UR) subcorpus of the Corpus of Digital Extremism and Conspiracies (abbreviated CoDEC) in order to look at the strategy of MJE as language crossing (Drylie & McCullough 2022). Subsequently, I will turn to the strategy of MJE as ventriloquation and examine transcriptions of seven episodes of *Dear Rabbi*, a parody advice show created and voiced by a white supremacist content creator referred to as "Source A." In this analysis, I address the specific linguistic features the creator adopts in order to perform the character of Rabbi Herschel Lieberman-Bergblattstein ("the Rabbi"). Once these data have been fully covered, I will then discuss the function of the two strategies of MJE in the context of the proliferation of far-right ideology online as distancing and affiliative tools.

2   Literature Review

Over the next four sections, I review a number of concepts necessary to understanding this primer on MJE. First, I review public perceptions of Jews and their speech over the last two centuries, including a number of antisemitic canards, conspiracies, and stereotypes necessary for understanding the functions accomplished by MJE. Following these descriptions, I discuss the concepts of mock language, language crossing, and ventriloquation and how each concept relates to my analysis of MJE as language crossing and MJE as ventriloquation.

2.1   *Perceptions of Jews and Jewish Speech*

Throughout the centuries, a number of Jewish caricatures have been popularized that maintain cultural relevance both in popular culture and in the

chatrooms of fringe political movements. The antisemitic stereotypes and canards I will reference throughout this article include:

1. *Jewish greed, intelligence, and cunning.* From the 19th century to the present, Jews have been stereotyped as not only intelligent but dangerously so, facilitating their supposed greedy and profiteering nature. Some of the many environments where this stereotype persisted include Eastern Europe (Oişteanu 2009), England (Glassman 2017), and the United States (Ehrlich 1962). This stereotype can also be linked to the stereotype of Jewish deceit or trickery (described in Oişteanu 2009), itself a common white supremacist talking point.

2. *The innate "otherness" of Jews.* There has been a persistent notion that Jews and other people are necessarily two separate types of being, rendering Jews perpetual strangers and outcasts in their countries of residence. Relevant to this study, Jewish speech is enmeshed in this stereotype: as far back as the writing of the New Testament Gospels, non-Jews (especially in Europe) have been taught that there are Jews "who [sound] too Jewish" whose language is inherently "marked by the corruption of being a Jew" (Gilman 1991:11). In media, sounding Jewish is used to illustrate how, like their speech, Jews themselves fall outside societal norms. This stereotype has been attested in 19th century and 20th century Europe (Oişteanu 2009) and has also remained culturally relevant into the 21st century (Ferrari 2010). This notion is often realized in the contemporary white supremacist racialization of Jews as non-white.

3. *Jewish tribalism and dual loyalty.* Another Jewish stereotype is the idea of Jewish loyalty to the Jewish people above all. This tribalism in addition to the "otherness" of Jews described above results in a supposed lack of loyalty to a Jew's country of residence or any other overlapping communities (except, perhaps, for Israel). This stereotype is also associated with the trope of Jewish betrayal or treachery, both of which were prevalent throughout medieval Europe (Glassman 2017) and 20th century Europe and America (Wertheimer 1991; Ehrlich 1962), as well as in many other contexts.

4. *Effeminate men, loud women.* A number of stereotypes of Jewish men and women have existed throughout history, but I will focus on those relevant to the data at hand. Jewish women are often stereotyped as loud, overbearing busybodies who dress in a garish or tacky manner (Schnur 1998; Ferrari 2010; Porsgaard 2019). While obnoxiousness is not a stereotype reserved for Jewish women alone (Nagourney 2010), Jewish men have often been characterized as weak and effeminate as far back as the 13th century (Biberman 2004), often represented in modern media

as being under the thumb of their domineering wives or mothers (see Porsgaard 2019).

5. *The Jewish "whiner."* This stereotype is often seen in media from the last several decades and is represented by both the Jewish American Princess (JAP) stereotype and the stereotype of the Jewish mother (Schnur 1998; Ferrari 2010), as well as the stereotype of the Jewish hypochondriac (Aleksiun 2012; Porsgaard 2019). Recently, this idea of Jew-as-whiner has also overlapped with a later point on this list that combines stereotype and conspiracy theory: a Jewish persecution complex, typified by complaints or exaggerations about the Holocaust.

6. *Jewish global control.* An antisemitic conspiracy theory that was popularized by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and given much attention in Nazi Germany asserted that Jews were in control of a number of national and even global institutions, particularly government, media, and finance (Herf 2005; Fay 2019). This has extended to projections from members of the far right that even mainstream social media moderation is subject to Jewish influence.

7. *Cultural denigration.* The conspiracy theory of Cultural Marxism has been given extensive attention from fringe white supremacist publications like *The Daily Stormer* (Anglin 2014; Kilpatrick 2015) and, recently, mainstream media outlets like FOX News (Hegseth 2022). This conspiracy theory is a 21st century reframing of the Nazi German conspiracy theory of Judeo-Bolshevism (or Cultural Bolshevism) and is steeped in antisemitic myths (Jamin 2018). One key difference between Cultural Marxism and Cultural Bolshevism, though, is the idea that Cultural Marxists promote progressive political ideologies like multiculturalism and political correctness as an act of anti-whiteness (Mirrlees 2018). Because many members of the far right do not consider Jews as white, this aligns with the Jewish agenda (though Cultural Marxism also benefits a number of non-Jewish marginalized groups).

8. *Jewish exaggeration of the Holocaust.* This stereotype and the associated conspiracy theory of Holocaust denial have been around for less than a century, but both are nonetheless very visible in popular discourse around Jews. Holocaust denial is far from fringe in the 21st century: over one-third of Millennial and Gen Z respondents surveyed by the Claims Conference believed two million or fewer Jews were killed during the Holocaust (2020:2), and 10% of the respondents surveyed were either unsure or did not believe that the events of the Holocaust had even transpired (4). Related to Holocaust denial are antisemitic memes pertaining

to the supposed Jewish exaggeration of the Holocaust, like "it's anudda Shoah" or "6 gorillion" (Anti-Defamation League 2022a; 2022b).

In addition to calling back to these stereotypes and conspiracy theories, MJE exaggerates and mocks characteristics of Jewish speech, not dissimilar to the treatment of Jewish language during the *Haskala*. Even prominent Jewish thinkers like Moses Mendelssohn spoke negatively of Eastern European Jews and especially their use of Jewish language (Yiddish, in particular). He was not alone in his criticism of the language and mannerisms of Eastern European Jews: historian Heinrich Graetz and Rabbi Sampson Raphael Hirsch had similarly critical views of the "gibberish" and "jargon" spoken by Eastern European Jews (Wertheimer 1991:149–150), and the poet Isaschar Falkensohn Behr wrote of his own poetry that it was not written in the "raw" language of Yiddish, but in German, a language considered capable of sophistication and literature by his contemporaries (quoted in Gilman 1990:133).

In the United States, the way these Yiddish-accented Jews spoke English was also viewed critically. In a speech training book from 1926, Martin & Martin determined that "[t]he greatest burden of our work in correcting foreign accent [sic] is among the people of Russian Jewish origin. Their speech is guttural, nasal and with a rising inflection at the end of phrases, sentences, and emphatic words" (108). Martin & Martin also remark on several features of Eastern European Jewish English that are characteristic of New York Jewish English or the English of L1-Yiddish speakers, including th-stopping and /æ/-raising (108). The nasality of Jewish speech becomes a theme: other public figures of the early 20th century, like D.H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf, both commented negatively on the perceived "nasal" quality of Jewish voices (Ruderman 2014:64). More recently, popular culture has also used Jewish characters to reinforce notions of what Jewish speech sounds like and how Jews act. There are a number of characters in animated media who speak distinctly Jewish varieties of English, including Kyle Schwartz and Sheila Broflovski (*South Park*) and Mort Goldman (*Family Guy*). Porsgaard (2019) argues that the characteristic and markedly Jewish speech of these three characters inextricably links their Jewishness and their inherent negative characteristics. Of the features discussed by Porsgaard, th-stopping and /æ/-raising are again mentioned, as is the nonrhoticity characteristic of New York English (and, consequently, some varieties of Jewish English).

Phonology aside, perhaps one of the most distinctive features of Jewish varieties of English is the incorporation of loanwords from other Jewish languages, particularly Yiddish and Hebrew (Steinmetz 1981; Benor 2009, 2011). This feature may be particularly salient to outsiders due to a lack of familiarity with

these loanwords, and it has been indexed in a number of popular media portrayals of Jewish English (Ferrari 2010; Porsgaard 2019). Given that Ashkenazi Jewishness is often given normative status by both members of the Jewish community and outsiders—especially in the United States[4]—it is no surprise that perceptions of Yiddish-influenced Jewish (American) English are similarly negative to perceptions of the L2 English of native Yiddish speakers. In 1962, speakers of markedly Jewish English were viewed in a less positive light than those who spoke non-Jewish varieties of English. Surveyed subjects were asked to evaluate Jewish-accented English speech compared to non-Jewish English, and both Jewish and non-Jewish subjects evaluated Jewish English as less favorable with respect to the assigned values of height, good looks, and leadership when compared to non-Jewish English (Anisfeld et al. 1962). The effects of this linguistic discrimination have been felt as recently as this year: a 2022 survey of employers conducted by Resume Builder showed that those employers who did discriminate against Jewish applicants felt that they could recognize them based on their "voice" and "mannerisms."

2.2   *Mock Language*

In the literature, several instances of mock language have been described, but I will focus on two case studies, each sharing similarities with one of the two strategies of MJE. The first type of mock language I would like to discuss is that which uses a language variety that the speaker is not fluent in, exemplified by Mock Spanish. Two strategies of Mock Spanish described by Hill (1999), who coined the term, are particularly relevant to this case study. First is the semantic pejoration of Spanish words through borrowing (682). English speakers will use otherwise neutral (or positive) Spanish words in "humorous or negative senses," causing both these words and speakers of Spanish to acquire similarly lighthearted or negative associations among English speakers who do not speak Spanish (682). For an example in Mock Spanish, consider the casual or even mocking use of Spanish parting expressions like *hasta la vista*, famously used by Arnold Schwarzenegger's character in *Terminator 2*, which is taught to him alongside slang and profanity (e.g., "dickwad") as if they are part of the same register. In MJE as language crossing, many of the borrowings are neutral Yiddish or Hebrew terms (e.g., *goy*, *shekel*, *kvetch*) that are given markedly negative and markedly Jewish associations through continued use. Like Mock Spanish, MJE as language crossing borrows specific words and uses humor to reinforce stereotypes associated with Jews. For example, the antisemitic

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4 See Jackson et al. (2021:700); and Leibovitz et al. (2019:20) for more information on Ashkenormativity.

stereotypes of Jewish greed and whining are reinforced by the borrowing and pejoration of *shekel* (Israeli unit of currency) and *kvetch* ('complain').

Another relevant strategy that Hill describes is the borrowing of taboo terms from Spanish, e.g., *caca* 'shit' and *cojones* 'balls.' Users of MJE as language crossing use a similar strategy, borrowing either pejoratives for marginalized communities, like *shvartse* or *faygele* (directed toward the Black and queer communities, respectively), or otherwise loaded words like *goy* ('non-Jew,' sometimes derogatory), *shiksa* ('non-Jewish woman,' often derogatory), or *Shoah* ('Holocaust'). Once more, continued use of these borrowings strengthens ideologies linking Jewish people with negative concepts like racism, homophobia, xenophobia, sexism, and genocide.

The second variety of mock language relevant to the matter at hand is more of a mock dialect or sociolect in the sense that it parodies a variety of a language already known to the speaker. Additionally, it is primarily used in entertainment or other performances, as opposed to language peppered into everyday conversation. Mock white girl (MWG) illustrates how mock language can perform an alternative function to the semantic pejoration of borrowings described above. Slobe (2018) discusses the linguistic and semiotic features of MWG, particularly focusing on the persona that MWG is used to develop in conjunction with semiotic features based on the context of the performance in question. Slobe concludes that, as it is produced and reproduced by different communities, MWG sheds light on the social class it parodies: performances of MWG as a white savior "call out" the complicitness of middle class white women in racial hegemony (22). However, they also reveal a social fear that can be attributed to middle class white women: "their voices are easily delegitimized because they do not sound, look, or socialize like middle-class white men" (23).

Like MWG, MJE as ventriloquation performs parody: the speaker ventriloquates, adopting a new voice and performing a new identity or persona. Like MWG, which references icons and institutions associated with girlhood (e.g., Ugg boots and social media) in order to develop the "white girl" persona (Slobe 2018:3), MJE as ventriloquation references institutions like the court system or banks or uses stereotypical Jewish names like Moshe and Chaim in order to personify and legitimize an antisemitic stereotype. Additionally, MJE as ventriloquation's iconization of Jews mirrors how members of the far right view Jews as fulfilling the stereotypical characteristics of Jews described in Section 2.1.

One important function of MWG as a process of iconizing middle class white girls is its "[generation] of social capital for speakers in the political economies they navigate" (2). Just as those who have iconized middle class white girls and benefited from this process in their respective social economies are not those

same white girls, those who iconize the caricature of the American Jew and benefit from this process are not in fact American Jews. Just as social capital is generated via humor by marginalized communities who enregister the savior variety of MWG, it is generated via humor by white supremacists who iconize speakers of Jewish English as greedy, scheming, and weak.

2.3   *MJE as Language Crossing*

When speaking of MJE as language crossing, I refer to the definition given in Rampton 1995, which describes language crossing as "code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using" (485). Some of Rampton's observations are relevant to borrowings from Jewish English used in far-right communities. For example, Rampton describes instances of language crossing that are not fluid or effortless, unlike typical code switching: they are deliberate and sometimes indicate a lack of fluency in the donor language (493). In fact, the disfluency found in these instances of language crossing can act as its own punchline and generate entertainment for the speakers involved, something that is also true of the gratuitous and occasionally incomprehensible Yiddish borrowings used in some white supremacist communities. For example, consider the following message sent by a Discord user (emphasis added): "It's best to let her *schvitz* and *kvetch* in peace. It's in my nature to react to things largely and loudly and with lots of emotion. If you can't handle me at my mild *mishegas*, you don't deserve me at my best *kvelling* … *schmuck*" (Drylie & McCullough 2022).

While Rampton's definition is accurate for the use of Jewish borrowings by members of the far right, the context in which language crossing is described in Rampton (1995) differs substantially from its use here. In Rampton's work, the humor these disfluencies generate relies on two parties being present: bilinguals proficient in the donor language, and monolinguals. The lack of proficiency of the monolinguals provides entertainment for both the Punjabi speakers and the non-Punjabi speakers described in his study (1995:503). However, only individuals *not* proficient in a Jewish language are present in the far-right spaces being discussed here. This homogeneity is a key difference between Rampton's study of language crossing and this one. Rampton's work looks at language crossing as a means for members of multi-ethnic communities to negotiate their identities by accessing language from one of the constituent ethnic communities that they themselves do not belong to. This multi-ethnic community membership (or lack thereof) is the root of the split between Rampton's affiliative language crossing and the mocking language crossing found within the far-right communities discussed in this article. White supremacists and white nationalists in particular embrace and value ethnic homogeneity (Inwood 2018), and they lack any impetus to form affiliations

across ethnic boundaries in a multi-ethnic society. Rather, they negotiate an exclusive space for themselves within it.

What purpose, then, does language crossing serve here? In Jaworska & Leuschner (2018), borrowings are used in a more hostile context. Their research concerns the use of loanwords that serve to perpetuate stereotypes about speech communities in a way that "echoes" both language crossing and mock language in its discursive functions (2018:123). Similar to how German borrowings in English and Polish are used to evoke either the stereotype of German innovation or memories of Nazi Germany (Jaworska & Leuschner 2018), borrowings from Yiddish or other Jewish languages are used to bring to mind stereotypes of Jewish greed, tribalism, degeneracy, et cetera. In addition to framing conversation around these stereotypical beliefs and perpetuating them, these types of borrowings can be used to "symbolize the foreign and the strange," effectively othering the speech community being targeted (Stubbs 2001:176).[5] Because both propagating negative Jewish stereotypes and othering the Jewish people further the ideological interests of these communities, this type of language crossing seems to best describe the use of MJE in far-right spaces.

MJE as language crossing does not serve a singular purpose, however. Mary Bucholtz considers the difficulty of determining whose racial or gender identity is being "construct[ed] … in discourse" in her study of the use of language crossing by a white, male speaker via Cross Racial AAVE (1999:447). This is particularly true when the identity in question is normative (masculinity or whiteness, for example). The crossing Bucholtz studies both "projects an urban youth identity that aligns [the speaker] culturally with African American youth" (1999:453) and allows "middle-class European American males [to] paradoxically [construct] themselves as … white men" (1999:445). Unlike Bucholtz's white men using CRAAVE, the white supremacists borrowing from JE are not trying to appropriate from the source culture—instead they use borrowings to reinforce antisemitic stereotypes, as described above. Bucholtz indicates that this dual function of discourse (double-voiced discourse) allows those who cross language in this way to simultaneously construct contrasting identities, particularly with respect to hegemonic norms and marginalized identities (1999:447). It is not unreasonable to then assume that, like young white men who appropriate AAE, white supremacists who use MJE as language crossing are simultaneously constructing a normative white identity via their speech in contrast to that of source culture—in this case, Jewishness.

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5 This borrowing from a "foreign" language is not dissimilar to the strategies of Mock Spanish discussed in Section 2.2 and may signify the further othering of Jews who speak heavily Yiddish-influenced varieties of English by implying that they are no longer even speaking English.

2.4   *Ventriloquation*

As defined by Deborah Tannen (2010), ventriloquation (or ventriloquizing) is the process through which individuals "frame their utterances as others' voices" (2010:308). While existing work on ventriloquation primarily characterizes it as using the voice of others in their vicinity (Tannen 2010; LeBlanc 2018), this article seeks to describe the ventriloquation of an imagined third party or character while still accomplishing the discursive functions Tannen describes. She characterizes ventriloquation as borrowing the voice and therefore identity of another. While the utterances spoken in these voices are at first glance simply reporting speech (or playing a character, in this case), both Tannen's and the present study focus instead on the functions of the act of ventriloquation itself. Tannen details two functions of ventriloquation: it allows speakers to distance themselves from their words and assign characteristics to those being voiced (2010:315).

There are parallels between this study of MJE as ventriloquation and Tannen's (2010) study of ventriloquation within a family. Tannen documents instances of ventriloquation where the speaker whose voice is being borrowed cannot actually speak, including a nonverbal child and a dog. In this article, I am looking at a more abstract borrowed voice: the voice of a stereotype. While Source A's Rabbi character has a name, his primary function is to symbolize the white supremacist caricature of a Jew. The Rabbi has cousins with stereotypical Jewish names, he is greedy, and he regularly discusses identity politics and other social issues often associated with the Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory. In sum, he is everything that antisemitic rhetoric projects a Jewish person to be. In viewing Source A's Rabbi as a symbol without a voice of its own (as there is in reality no Jewish monolith to give it a voice), one may view the voice that Source A gives the Rabbi as ventriloquizing the Jewish people. This ventriloquation of Jews, like the ventriloquation described by both Tannen (2010) and LeBlanc (2018), serves to assign certain characteristics to the individual (or, in this case, the stereotype) being voiced. As I will discuss in Section 5, Source A uses the Rabbi's mannerisms, word choice, and topic choice to characterize all Jewish people and reinforce antisemitism.

3   The Data

Throughout this article, I will be referencing both written and spoken data collected from a number of online white supremacist spaces. The two primary datasets with which I am working are 1) the Unicorn Riot (UR) subcorpus of the Corpus of Digital Extremism and Conspiracies (CoDEC; Drylie & McCullough

2022), and 2) seven transcribed recordings of *Dear Rabbi*, a parody advice radio show written by a white supremacist internet personality referred to here as Source A.

3.1 The Unicorn Riot Subcorpus of CoDEC

CoDEC is a public repository of data scraped from various spaces of the web that are host to either far-right extremist communities or those centered around discussing conspiracy theories, including parts of 4chan and 8kun. In addition to scraping these sites for original data, CoDEC contains data scraped from DDoSecrets and Unicorn Riot, two websites which host leaked content for public use by activists, researchers, and journalists. The UR subcorpus of CoDEC consists of leaked chat logs from 289 different servers affiliated in some way with the far right or alternative right that were hosted on the Discord messaging platform. The subcorpus is made up of 4,895 files that were accessed using AntConc, a concordance software developed by Laurence Anthony, and totals over 900 million tokens,[6] including metadata (e.g., usernames).

3.2 "Dear Rabbi"

A number of episodes of *Dear Rabbi* were recorded by a white supremacist internet personality, Source A, and used as segments of the podcast *The Daily Shoah*, hosted on The Right Stuff.[7] Nine segments of *Dear Rabbi* appear to have been recorded between 2015 and 2017, and seven of these episodes have been cataloged on the website *Argent Beacon* (2020). These episodes, totaling exactly 25 minutes of recorded audio, were transcribed verbatim by the author with manually coded tags added for words with a marked Jewish English pronunciation. In each episode, Source A's character, the Rabbi, is asked questions by "listeners" and gives advice. All of the advice-seeking characters are also assumed to be voiced by Source A, as he is given sole credit for the segment, and none speak with a markedly non-mainstream variety of American English. After the transcriptions for each episode were completed and annotated, lines

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6 Where "token" refers to any instance of a word (or a series of characters separated by white space).

7 The Right Stuff is an alternative multimedia outlet that hosts a number of free-to-listen podcasts as well as premium, members-only social media and RSS feeds. The most notable of these podcasts and the only show with a dedicated navigational tab on The Right Stuff's website is *The Daily Shoah*. *The Daily Shoah* has aired over 1,100 episodes as of October 2023 and continues to be uploaded multiple times a week. Episodes feature a variety of segments, such as "The Merchant Minute," "The Shitlord Report," and "Le Chateau Autiste." The *Dear Rabbi* segment appears in seven episodes of *The Daily Shoah*. Each episode has several hosts, whose identities I have anonymized and used in the References to distinguish among the episodes that we utilized in our database.

from the Rabbi and lines from the other characters were compiled into separate plaintext files and viewed through AntConc. The Rabbi transcript consists of 2,344 tokens, while the non-Rabbi transcript consists of 1,594 tokens. The show's sign-off was removed from these compilations in order to avoid skewing the results of this relatively small pool of data, as the exact same advertisement for The Right Stuff is used to end all seven episodes.

4   MJE as Language Crossing

MJE as language crossing is typically manifested in lexical borrowings, likely because the data used in this study is primarily written or typed. This makes other linguistic features, especially phonological features, difficult to realize unless phonetic spelling is used, which is relatively rare in the dataset outside of memes like "anuddah Shoah." Instead of ventriloquizing some imaginary, othered character, MJE as language crossing is most often realized through this borrowing of Jewish English words. These borrowings are then used to accomplish a particular pragmatic function—in this case, ascribing the value of "Jewishness" to the subject at hand. As previously discussed, speakers are not using this strategy to develop a multilingual, multi-ethnic identity via linguistic borrowings. Instead, MJE as language crossing may serve one or both of the two following functions, depending on its use: 1) ascribing Jewishness to the subject being discussed, and 2) allowing in-group members to covertly display their subscription to antisemitic ideologies. In the following section, I will consider the use of three borrowings: "kvetch," "Shoah (v.)" and "yenta."

4.1   *Kvetch*
"Kvetch" as a borrowing is used to indicate that an instance of complaining or whining is being done by a representative of Jewishness, be that an actual Jewish person, Jewry at large, or a person or institution representing Jewish interests. The borrowing of "kvetch" is particularly interesting because it assigns Jewishness to actions and speech rather than simply assigning it to an actor (in contrast to "yenta"). To quantify this statement, I have analyzed 442 instances of "kvetch" and its allomorphs[8] found in the UR subcorpus of CoDEC, coding their semantic agent (i.e., the one kvetching). Of these 442

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8 Allomorphs which were searched that returned results include "kvetch" (109), "kvetches" (14), "kvetching" (296), "kvetchin" (2), "kvetched" (15), "kvetchening" (4), "kvech" (2), "kveching" (1), and "kvitching" (2). All of the following allomorphs were searched and returned zero results: "kveches," "kvechin," "kveched," "kvitch," "kvitches," "kvitchin," and "kvtiched."

uses, I excluded 102 for a variety of reasons, including uses by automated bots,[9] undetermined semantic agents due to a lack of context, and instances directed at other Discord users (further detailed in Appendix 8.1). Worth mentioning here are two instances of "kvetch" used to ventriloquize a hypothetical Jew. For example, one Discord user writes, "Oy vey, what're you mensch [sic] kvetching about?" (Drylie & McCullough 2022). While these acts of ventriloquation are attested in written data, they are, as in this example, framed by other references to Jewish stereotypes—"Oy vey" and "mensch" in this message.

Excluding these outliers leaves 340 total uses of "kvetch" with a determined semantic agent. Overall, "kvetching" is attributed to Jews in 133 of 340 instances (39.1%). However, this leaves over half of all instances with non-Jewish semantic agents. In order to correlate these borrowings with the political leanings of the semantic agents of "kvetch," I categorized them by political leaning, if it was identifiable. The agents under the left-wing umbrella are Jews (either as a whole or individuals), progressives (including the Democratic Party and various advocacy groups), media (including individual journalists), social minorities and marginalized groups,[10] and academia (both institutions and student bodies). The right-wing agents were divided into either mainstream conservatives (including journalists and politicians) or fringe conservatives (particularly figures on social media, e.g., Sargon of Akkad). All other semantic agents that could be determined fell into the neutral category, which includes the public at large, specific nations, Orthodox Christians, the speakers themselves, and miscellaneous agents with only one or two instances each. Further information on the distribution of these semantic agents can be found in Table 1 and Fig. 1.

When viewed through this context, "kvetch" has an undeniable connotation of Jewishness and progressive social values—which, viewed through the lens of the far right, are "Jewish" values due to the far right association between Jewishness and cultural "decline" (i.e., Cultural Marxism). Only 22 instances (6.47%) of kvetching are performed by conservatives or those promoting right-wing values. On the other hand, 243 instances (71.47%) can be attributed to either Jews or other agents associated with promoting said "Jewish" values, while the remaining 75 instances (22.06%) are too general to assign either political label.

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9   On Discord, many servers host "members" that are actually automated scripts that perform a certain function. They are denoted with a tag in their username, which was included in the corpus and used to eliminate uses of "kvetch" by bots from the dataset.

10   The groups represented consisted of women (not specifically feminists), the queer community, and people of color (among others). These social minorities were included in the "left" category due to U.S. voter demographics (Pew Research Center 2018) and advocacy on behalf of these groups by progressive social movements.

TABLE 1   Distribution of the agents of the verb "kvetch" in the Unicorn Riot
               subcorpus of CoDEC
               All figures and tables were created by the author

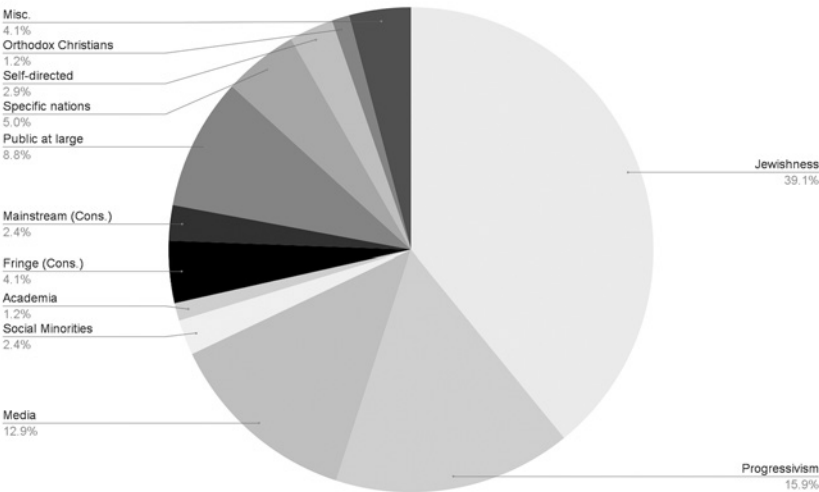|	Tokens	Percent Total
The Left	243	71.47
Jewishness	133	39.12
Progressivism	54	15.88
Media	44	12.94
Social Minorities	8	2.35
Academia	4	1.18
The Right	22	6.47
Fringe Conservatives	14	4.12
Mainstream Conservatives	8	2.35
The Rest	75	22.06
Public at large	30	8.82
Specific nations	17	5.00
Self-directed	10	2.94
Orthodox Christians	4	1.18
Misc.	14	4.12
Total	340	100.00

FIGURE 1   Pie chart showing the distribution of the agents of the verb "kvetch" in the
                Unicorn Riot subcorpus of CoDEC

Now I will look at the borrowing of "kvetch" when it is used specifically to refer to the complaints of Jews. In these cases, it can refer to either historical Jewry, contemporary Jewry, or individual Jews, and its use is often paired with language connoting antisemitic stereotypes or conspiracy theories. In an example of kvetching being attributed to historical Jewry, User 1 describes the supposed Jewish outcry in response to a ban on usury in Transcript 1 below (emphasis added).

Transcript 1 (Drylie & McCullough 2022)

1	User 1:	which isn't really fair, but it is a good example of how butt hurt the
2		*Yahud* were over Napoleon outlawing usury
3	User 1:	that they still *kvetch* about it to this day
4	User 2:	oh no
5	User 1:	*Yahud*: Napoleon made me pay back all my ill gotten gains
6	User 2	all that money is gone
7	User 1:	Napoleon: why don't you get a job you *usurious Hebrew*
8	User 2:	tbh
9	User 2:	why people take such rapey loans though
10	User 1:	also *Yahud*: *oy vey annuda shoah*

As User 1 describes a historical event in Transcript 1, they utilize several of the antisemitic stereotypes described in Section 2.1: Jewish greed (lines 2–3, 5, and 7), the whiny Jew (lines 3 and 10), and Jewish exaggeration of the Holocaust (line 10). Repeated use of these loan words in contexts associating Jews with antisemitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories may, like the case of Mock Spanish, lead to both semantic pejoration giving these borrowings a negative sense in mainstream use and the development of markedly antisemitic connotations for Yiddish borrowings as used in far-right speech communities.

Not only is "kvetch" used here to refer to complaining specifically done by Jews about matters concerning Jews, but the "anuddah Shoah" meme is used in a rare written instance of MJE as ventriloquation. Each word in line 10 indexes Jewishness: the borrowings of "oy vey" and "Shoah," coupled with the eye-dialect rendering of th-stopping and postvocalic nonrhoticity in "annuda." This meme itself is well known, but the borrowing of Jewish English phonology in written text is otherwise uncommon in the data.

Examples of contemporary Jews "kvetching" (both individually and as a monolith) are apparent as well. One Discord user states, "The best part is jews [sic] actually aren't lying when they *kvetch* about how they have no idea where all this new antisemitism is coming from. They actually don't get it" (Drylie

& McCullough 2022). When someone suggests that Jews should simply "leave [people] the fuck alone," the same user responds, "but that's not *tikkun olam*" (Drylie & McCullough 2022). In addition to explicitly naming Jews as the complainers, this user references the religious concept of *tikkun olam* 'repairing the world' as the reason that Jews cannot keep to themselves, directly connecting the religion with being a nuisance or problem for society.

In an instance of using "kvetching" to describe the reaction of a particular Jewish person, User 3 refers to Bernie Sanders: "they should call Bernie's bluff and cut aid to Israel, watch how he'll turn red in the face and then whine and *kvetch*, sing another tune how the US and Trump and [sic] now anti-semitic" (Drylie & McCullough 2022). This use of "kvetch" invokes the stereotype of the whiny Jew in addition to conflating criticism of Israel with antisemitism, a notion that a number of Jewish organizations have opposed (Jewish Telegraphic Agency 2018), and perpetuating the stereotype of Jewish dual loyalty by implying that Bernie Sanders, a Jewish American politician, has an allegiance to the state of Israel.

More indirectly, however, "kvetch" is frequently used to ascribe Jewishness to particular figures, institutions, or movements suspected to be either influenced by or under the thumb of global Jewry, as seen in Table 1 and Fig. 1. For example, in Transcript 2 below, User 3's conspiratorial rhetoric is on display with descriptions of "fake concern" (line 1) and "orchestrated" political action (line 5) ascribed to the American Democratic Party. Each assertion is followed by what User 3 describes in both instances as "kvetching" (lines 2 and 6).

Transcript 2 (Drylie & McCullough 2022)

1	User 3:	look at all that *fake concern* going into full gear by the dems, all that
2		*whining and kvetching*
3	User 4:	>attempted modern day lynching
4	User 4:	do they even know how lynching works
5	User 3:	*This was all orchestrated*, they jumped on it *pushing hate laws*, good way to
6		sell bullshit, stage one, *piss moan cry kvetch whine crocodile tear*

Here, kvetching (and, transitively, Jewishness) is associated with social progressivism via mentions of hate speech laws (line 5), yet another nod to the Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory. Further connections to antisemitic stereotypes include the allusions to cunning and trickery with their description of

the "orchestrat[ing]" of "fake concern" and the use of "crocodile tears" (lines 5, 1, and 6). Through connections to Jewish stereotypes via references to antisemitic tropes as well as the pejoration of Jewish borrowings, members of the far right connect various institutions and movements with Jewishness, as they have done with the Democratic Party in Transcript 2.

4.2 *Shoah* (*v.*)

"Shoah" has been used to refer to incidents of account removal or deplatforming as far back as 2014 (Anonymous 2014; Mulhall 2021). The word is used ironically and itself is an act of Holocaust trivialization, comparing the removal of a social media account or website to genocide. In the transcript below, User 5 uses the term to refer to the removal of a thread from the now-defunct r/The_Donald subreddit, which centered around the politician's cult of personality. User 6 asks what the word means, but User 5 gives no answer other than linking to the Wikipedia page for the disambiguation of "Shoah" (which does not explain the term in this context). After User 5 explains the context of his deleted post and links to a follow-up post, User 7 mentions that he was banned from the subreddit as well, sarcastically thanking its "Jewish" moderators (line 16). Discussion continues on the supposed Jewishness of the subreddit's moderation team.

Transcript 3 (Drylie & McCullough 2022)

1	User 5:	Mods finally *shoahed* that post on t_d[11]
2	User 5:	Locked it and *SHUT IT DOWN*
3	User 6:	What does shoahed mean?
4	User 5:	Upvote this to put heat on t_d mods for being cuckservatives: [inserted
5		link: inaccessible post from r/The_Donald]
6	User 5:	A term the Alt-right picked up and uses
7	User 5:	[inserted link: Wikipedia's "Shoah (disambiguation)" page]
8	User 5:	Welp just got banned from the_donald
9	User 5:	That was easy
10	User 5:	They nuked the original thread but I archived it here: please feel free to
11		re-post this
12	User 5:	[inserted link: archive.today catalogue of an image post on Reddit's

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11   r/The_Donald.

13		r/The_Donald, further described in Appendix 8.2]
14	User 6:	I'll repost it
15	User 7:	I got banned for "being a fucking idiot" lol
16		thanks *jewish mods*
17	User 8:	tfw[12] no *askenazi iq*
18	User 5:	they nuked my repost thread too
19	User 7:	>mention the *ashkenazi* connection
20		>immediate ban

In the above chatlog, Jewishness is explicitly referenced three times (lines 16, 17, and 19). More implicitly, User 5 references Jewishness with his use of "Shoah" as a verb (line 1) and the use of the "the goyim know/shut it down" meme (line 2). Lastly, the reference to "jewish mods" is an appeal to the conspiracy theory that Jews control various institutions and use this control to promote their own self-interest—in this case, removing an antisemitic post. Like the use of "kvetch" in the previous section, far-right misappropriation of the term "Shoah" and its association with antisemitic conspiracy theories is a form of semantic pejoration. Additionally, instead of simply adding Jewish (and therefore negative) connotations to the word and subjects being discussed, the use of the word "Shoah" in this sense also trivializes the events of the Holocaust (also described in Benor 2022:57).

4.3   *Yenta*

In a Jewish English context, the word "yenta" is used to describe "[a woman] who gossips, a busybody; one given to nagging or scolding, a shrew" (OED 2022)—note that this woman is not necessarily Jewish. In many extremist communities, "yenta" specifically refers to a *Jewish* woman, whether or not she embodies these qualities, as shown in Transcript 4. The conversation in Transcript 4 took place after User 9 linked an image in the chat. The image is currently unavailable, but the user who linked the image refers to it as a photograph of a woman who goes to their school and who is never described as embodying any of the characteristics listed in the OED definition.

Transcript 4 (Drylie & McCullough 2022)

1	User 9:	That's a *Jewish* chick I go to college with. Her bappers are quality
2	User 9:	But *she's Jewish*
3	User 10:	NO JEW POSTING

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12   "That feel (feeling) when."

4	User 11:	Is she confirmed *Yenta*
5	User 10:	EVER
6	User 9:	Dude *her last name is the most JEWISH thing ever*

As depicted above, "yenta" is used to comment on the Jewishness of a particular woman. In using "yenta" as a synonym for "Jewish woman," these speakers are referencing the gendered stereotype of the loud, pushy Jewish woman described in Section 2.1. While the word itself is already somewhat derogatory, its continued use in this context facilitates gendered antisemitism, creating a connection within the far right between Jewish women and the negative behavior denoted by the Jewish English meaning of "yenta" (e.g., gossiping, scolding, and nagging).

5   MJE as Ventriloquation

In this section, I will begin by discussing three pairs of words from white supremacist parody talk show *Dear Rabbi* that exhibit phonological features associated with the English of Jews in New York when spoken in Source A's "Rabbi" voice. Incidentally, two of the Rabbi's tokens in the following word pairs feature phonological features associated with feminine speech, which may relate to the gendered antisemitic stereotype that Jewish men are weak or effeminate. Once I have established several features borrowed for the creation of the Rabbi character that give the impression of a feminine Jewish man, I will discuss the use of lexical borrowings from Jewish English, as well as social themes relevant to the antisemitic conspiracy theories and canards that have been discussed thus far.

5.1   *Phonetic and Phonological Features*
This section will discuss six tokens from the voice of Source A's explicitly Jewish persona, Rabbi Herschel Lieberman-Bergblattstein, and compare them with examples of the same word spoken by the non-Jewish voices of those "calling in" to the show. Using audio data from the same speaker provides a baseline, allowing me to examine spectrograms and the data contained within without having to account for differences in the properties of voices from two different speakers. In this data, I examine tokens representing the following phonemes: /ɔ/ (or /ɑ/), /u/, and /æ/.

The remainder of this section consists of three pairs of spectrograms depicting exemplary audio tokens spoken by a non-Rabbi character and by the Rabbi. Audio from a non-Rabbi character is displayed on the left, and audio from

the Rabbi is on the right. Each set of spectrograms is accompanied by a table listing the mean values for the first three formants of the targeted vowel(s). Information on the data contained in the spectrograms[13] and tables can be found in the captions and tables of the figures. First, I will look at an example of the Rabbi's lack of cot-caught merger as compared to a non-Rabbi character, who exhibits at least a partial merger.

The production of [ɔ] is a distinctive characteristic of a number of American English dialects, including New York Jewish English. Other than vowel height, the other major difference between [ɑ] and [ɔ] is lip rounding, which I observe in the F3 value, as shown in Fig. 2 and Table 2. For the Rabbi's vowel, F3 is nearly 100 Hz lower, indicating that it is rounder than the vowel of the non-Rabbi character who has the cot-caught merger characteristic of Standard American English (something closer to [ɒl.weɪz]).

/ɑl.weɪz/
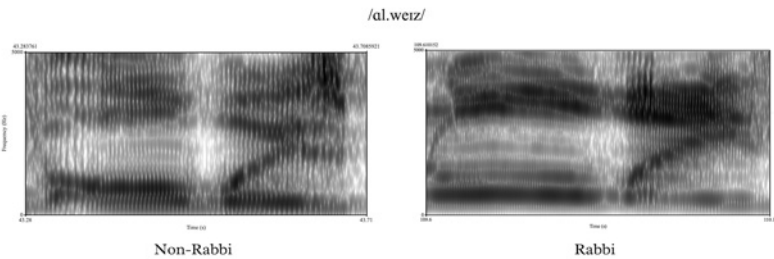
Non-Rabbi   Rabbi

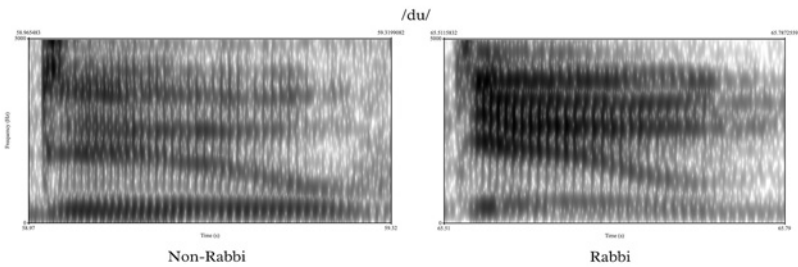FIGURE 2   Side-by-side spectrograms of a non-Rabbi character and the Rabbi saying "always" /ɑl.weɪz/

TABLE 2   The mean F1, F2, and F3 of both the Non-Rabbi and Rabbi char-
acters' production of the vowel in the first syllable of "always"
Data points for the non-Rabbi character's production of /ɑ/ were
taken from 41.32 seconds to 43.37 seconds into Episode 7, and
the Rabbi's data points for /ɔ/ were taken from 109.59 to 109.65
seconds into Episode 6

	Non-Rabbi	Rabbi
Mean F1 of σ1	633.86 Hz	588.48 Hz
Mean F2 of σ1	937.42 Hz	1399.87 Hz
Mean F3 of σ1	3010.77 Hz	2905.60 Hz

13   All spectrograms and data points were generated by and retrieved from Praat, phonetic analysis software developed by the University of Amsterdam.

Unlike what one would expect to find in the first formant of vowels of vary-ing height, the F1 for both syllables is within around 50 Hz of one another. This could imply that the speaker, who may not naturally distinguish between the vowels /ɑ/ and /ɔ/, is simply adding lip rounding to the closest sound in their phonemic inventory, /ɑ/, with no associated change in height, resulting in a production closer to [ɒl.weɪz].

Next, I will compare the production of the word /du/ ("do") between the two characters. The Rabbi's /u/ is a very low, fronted variant (see Fig. 3, with the mean value of formants listed in Table 3).

/du/

Non-Rabbi   Rabbi

FIGURE 3   Two spectrograms of a non-Rabbi character and the Rabbi saying the word "do" /du/

TABLE 3   The mean F1, F2, and F3 of both the Non-Rabbi and Rabbi characters' production of /u/
The audio for the non-Rabbi character's dialogue is taken from *Dear Rabbi* episode 2, between 58.97 seconds into the record-ing and 59.32 seconds, and the audio for the Rabbi is taken from 65.51 seconds to 65.79 seconds into Episode 1

	Non-Rabbi	Rabbi
Mean F1	305.63 Hz	2058.52 Hz
Mean F2	1917.77 Hz	2723.68 Hz
Mean F3	2624.38 Hz	3386.82 Hz

The Rabbi's F1 is 2058.52 Hz to the non-Rabbi character's F1 of 305.63, and the Rabbi's F2 of 2723.68 compared to the non-Rabbi character's 1917.77. As a result, the /u/ produced is a very low, fronted variant. While a fronted /u/ is not associated with Jewish speech in particular, it *is* associated with feminine speech (Labov et al. 2006). This is of particular interest because the speaker

may be deliberately using these features to perform the Rabbi's voice in order to hearken back to the stereotype of Jewish men as being weak or effeminate.

The Rabbi's vowels tend to be more nasal than those of the non-Jewish characters, a feature that aligns with the stereotypical Jewish voice described in Section 2.1. Instances of /æ/ tended to reveal more negative space in the spectrogram, a feature characteristic of nasals, as seen in the example of /pæst/ pictured in Fig. 4 below, which shows spectrograms of a non-Rabbi character and the Rabbi saying the word "past" (/pæst/).

/pæst/
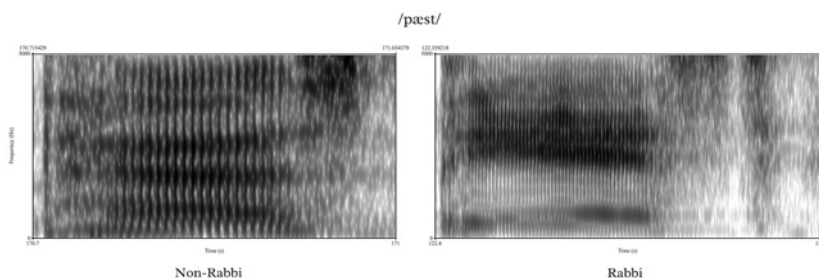
Non-Rabbi   Rabbi

FIGURE 4   Spectrograms of a non-Rabbi character and the Rabbi saying "past" /pæst/

In addition to this nasality, the Rabbi's production of /ae/ is often diphthongized, as is evident in the movement of F1 on the right side of Fig. 4. From 122.47 to 122.51 seconds, there is an F1 value of 467.11 Hz, while from 122.58 to 122.68 seconds there is an F1 value of 652.28 Hz, suggesting a shift from a higher vowel to a lower vowel, producing something like [pɪæst].

The next feature of note from Fig. 4 is the word-final /t/-release evidenced in the Rabbi's production of /pæst/ by the complete stop of spectral activity at around 122.88 seconds, followed by a noisy puff of air in the last .08 seconds of the recording. This feature is associated with two Jewish demographics: Reform Jews in New York active in their religious community and Orthodox Jews (Benor 2009). Interestingly, this feature also shares an association with women—specifically, female nerds—and gay men (described in Podesva et al. 2015).

Finally, Fig. 4 (with the formants listed in Table 4) shows a much higher frequency in the Rabbi's production of /s/ in /pæst/ compared to the non-Rabbi character. A large amount of turbulence is visible in the non-Rabbi's spectrogram around the 5,000 Hz mark. This in itself is typical of any sibilant. In the Rabbi's spectrogram, on the other hand, there is also a mass of light grey turbulence visible, but the frequency for the bulk of this turbulence falls above the upper limit of 5,000 Hz shown in Praat's preview window. This indicates a very high frequency /s/, which is a feature that has been studied with respect to

TABLE 4   The mean F1, F2, and F3 of both the Non-Rabbi and Rabbi characters' production of /æ/
            Data points for the non-Rabbi character's production of /æ/ were taken from 170.81 seconds to 170.90 seconds into Episode 6, and the Rabbi's data points were taken from 122.58 to 122.68 seconds into Episode 5

	Non-Rabbi	Rabbi
Mean F1	730.39 Hz	652.29 Hz
Mean F2	1667.20 Hz	2228.12 Hz
Mean F3	2503.19 Hz	2710.22 Hz

gender identity and presentation and found to often be used by women (Fuchs & Toda 2010) and gay men (Zimman 2013). This is the third feature described that is frequently and markedly associated with femininity, strengthening the argument that the Rabbi's voice is deliberately cobbled together with a combination of features that either positively index Jewishness in speech or negatively index masculinity.

5.2   *Lexical Features*

The Rabbi's speech includes three lexical items from Jewish English, "goy" (10 tokens), "goyim" (5 tokens), and "shiksa" (6 tokens). The non-Rabbi characters' speech predictably contains none of these words. In addition to the phonological features discussed in the previous section, the presence of borrowings in the Rabbi's most frequently used words lend further "authenticity" to the Jewish voice Source A puts on for the character of the Rabbi and, like the borrowings described in Section 4, has a similar effect of semantic pejoration and indexing of antisemitism.

Buzzwords and hot-button political issues are especially meaningful in a space like the far right that is centered around political and social issues. In creating the antisemitic caricature of the Rabbi, the creator references topics that, viewed through a far-right lens, connote the Jew as a political entity. Said Jew promotes left-wing social issues, derides conservative values, and wishes to destroy white, masculine hegemony in order to further their agenda.

The most notable set of these references is the Rabbi's advocacy for sexual "degeneracy" (described in Mirrlees 2018), which indexes the conspiracy theory of Cultural Marxism. What is considered "degenerate" is subjective, but within the context of white supremacists on the far right, this includes but is not limited to the following behaviors: sex outside of heterosexual, monogamous

relationships, referenced in all seven episodes; interracial relationships, referenced in episodes 3, 4, 5, and 6; queer sexuality and gender expression, referenced in episodes 3, 5, 6, and 7; and the denigration of the nuclear family, referenced in episodes 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6. Other social issues where the far right and the Rabbi are ideologically opposed include recreational drug use (episodes 3 and 6), abortion (episode 3), incest (episode 4), interracial adoption (episode 5), pornography (episodes 5 and 6), immigration (episode 7), and hate speech regulation (episode 7).

6   Discussion

It is worth noting that the borrowings used in both MJE as language crossing and MJE as ventriloquation act as ideological dog whistles for those who use them. An interesting difference between these two strategies, however, is how they allow members of the far right to affiliate and distance themselves from various parties.

When borrowing Yiddish or other Jewish words, members of the far right jointly develop in-group connotations between the borrowed words and various aspects of Jewishness (real or imagined). Unsurprisingly, these connotations are often negative and antisemitic, but their creation and perpetuation allow members of the far right to show ideological and group affiliation. Equating being a "yenta" with being a Jewish woman, for example, implicitly makes the statement that the speaker subscribes to the stereotype that Jewish women tend to be domineering and nagging. Another example is found in the use of "Shoah" as a verb. As described in Section 4.2, this misappropriation by the far right is an act of Holocaust trivialization, as its use alone perpetuates the idea that the events of the Holocaust are comparable to losing a YouTube channel or having a Reddit post removed. Using these words in these senses often acts as an efficient shorthand for declaring that the speaker believes in these stereotypes or conspiracy theories. These beliefs are a key component for membership in a number of far-right communities (e.g., Christian nationalism, QAnon, and white supremacy, among others).

MJE as ventriloquation, on the other hand, differs in that it does not rely solely on borrowings to index Jewishness: it involves literally putting on the voice of a Jewish character, including phonetic and phonological features. As seen in the data from *Dear Rabbi*, members of the far right who take on a Jewish voice and perform a Jewish identity for entertainment purposes also use borrowings to perpetuate antisemitic conspiracy theories and stereotypes. However, unlike the Discord users discussed in the sections on MJE as language

crossing, they have no immediate audience. In order to preserve the integrity of their identity as a member of the far right, a white supremacist must create distance between themselves and the Jewish character they portray. To accomplish this, Source A not only uses borrowings from Jewish English, but takes this misappropriation of features a step further by appropriating a number of phonological features stereotypically associated with American Jews. The Rabbi's features are heavily exaggerated, in contrast to Source A's speech when posing as advice seekers. Where language crossing is an affiliative use of MJE within the far right, the opposite is true for MJE as ventriloquation, because ventriloquation is a distancing tool (Tannen 2010). In addition to this function of ventriloquation as a speech act, MJE as ventriloquation allows the speaker to further distance themselves from the identity created by their performance by exaggerating features associated with Jewish speech to the point of theater.

7   Conclusion and Impact

Throughout this article, I have analyzed two primary strategies used by far-right internet users who use MJE: language crossing and ventriloquation. In my analysis of MJE as language crossing, I looked through four transcripts from the UR subcorpus of CoDEC, wherein members of various far-right online communities borrow three words characteristic of Jewish English: "kvetch," "Shoah" (used here as a verb), and "yenta." These borrowings of Jewish English contribute to semantic pejoration of the words through their affiliation with a number of antisemitic conspiracy theories and stereotypes. Following this, I analyzed lexical and phonological features used in the performance of a Jewish character across seven episodes of the white supremacist parody advice show *Dear Rabbi.*

   As discussed thus far, these two strategies of MJE allow members of the far right to perpetuate antisemitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories among themselves, as well as identify and align themselves with one another in conversation and covertly declare group membership by signaling certain beliefs they subscribe to. However, the impact of this language use has echoes beyond these insular corners of the internet. As discussed at the outset of this article, fringe right-wing movements have been growing over the last decade, and their rhetoric has entered mainstream political discourse. From Eric Trump's use of "shekels" on a morning news broadcast in 2018 to mentions of Cultural Marxism in educational materials distributed by Fox Nation just this year (Tobin 2018; Hegseth 2022), these dog whistles and references to antisemitic conspiracy theories are being legitimized on mainstream conservative platforms. The first

step toward harm reduction and preventing antisemitic ideologies from creeping back into mainstream right-wing discourse in the 21st century is to recognize and identify instances of the strategies of MJE described in this article.

8 Appendix

8.1 *Table Descriptions*
Table 1. The data in this table does not include: 55 instances directed at other Discord users, 24 instances of "kvetch" with an undetermined agent, 3 misuses of the word, 2 uses by Discord bots, 1 instance used in a hyperlink, 4 instances of meta commentary on the word itself, 11 parodies (e.g., "*Art of the Kvetch*") and 2 acts of ventriloquation (see section 4.1). This leaves 340 total uses of "kvetch" with a determined semantic agent.

8.2 *Notes on Transcripts*
Transcript 3. The archived link from line 13 is of an image posted on r/The _Donald. The post itself is titled "Notice the Pattern?" The image is divided into four quadrants, each containing a photograph. The photos on the right side, depicting Senator John Conyers and journalist Donna Brazile, read "Fired." The photos on the left side, depicting Senator Al Franken (top) and journalist Wolf Blitzer (bottom), read "Not fired." Discussion in the comments mainly revolves around the anti-Black racism of the Democratic party and supposed Jewish privilege.

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